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French Ideology of English as a World Language and American Second Language Speakers

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by

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ABSTRACT

French Ideology of English as a World Language and American Second Language Speakers compares French ideology of American English and French ideology of the American accent in French to investigate if the two correlate. The study seeks to answer the question: Is ideology linked to the speech community represented or is it linked to the language forms themselves? The study includes a literature review of previously published studies on the subjects of French ideology of English as a World Language, the competition between French and English as a lingua franca, French perceptions of second language speakers, and the American accent in French and its reception. The study then analyzes its own research in France, where respondents were given a matched guise test with different "levels" of the American accent in French recorded to determine if there are any perceived personality traits that are associated with linguistic aptitude. An English recording was also included.

The findings showed that English was rated the highest in all categories. Otherwise, there was a general trend in recordings' phonetic similarity to standard French correlating with positive perceptions of the speaker's personality traits. There were some exceptions, including the "exaggerated American accent", which was rated lowest in all personality categories except "charming" and "attractive" categories, where it was rated the highest. This demonstrates that there is another factor that has caused the "strongest accent" to bump up in personality perception. The researcher proposes that perceived effort must contribute to the change in trends for the "exaggerated American" accent. The

study concludes by suggesting that there are three potential factors that help shape French perceptions of second language speech: linguistic aptitude, perceived effort, and speech community represented by the accent.

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Chapter One: Introduction

If I go to France and speak with my American accent to native speakers, what impression does this give to the listeners? Do they associate certain personality attributes with the level of my foreign accent? If I speak fluently with not a trace of an accent, will they like me better? If there is an association of personality traits to my accent, does this have to do with their perception of English? Or their perception of Americans? Or neither? Whatever the result, the listeners' impression of my second language speech will be the product of their ideology. As defined by Eckert 2013, "Ideology is the system of beliefs by which people explain, account for, and justify their behavior, and interpret and assess that of others… ideologies differ on whether difference is fundamental, whether it should be maintained, and whether it can – or should – be maintained without inequality (35)… a dominant ideology typically owes it success not to brute power and conscious imposition, but to the ability to convince people that it is not in fact a matter of ideology at all, but simply natural, 'the way things are'" (43).

In this research, I will investigate the evolution of French ideology of English as a world language, French perceptions of American second-language speakers of French, and my own research to see if I can find a correlation of French perceptions of the American accent with French perceptions of English. If I start my research in these areas, there may be a greater possibility of answering my initial questions and identifying the relevant French ideology

Chapter Two: French Perceptions of English as A World Language

World French versus World English

There is a history of competition between French and English for the major world language position and how this competition affects the French attitude toward English. To understand this history, one must begin with the development of French identity. As early as in 14th century French psalters, one can find the author lamenting that French language changes from region to region, and how this makes it difficult to transmit ideas across time and space (Kibbee 1993:211). Geoffroy Tory, a printer in Bourges, repeated this same type of appeal when he made a plea in 1529 "that French be brought under control of the rules". Around the mid-sixteenth century is when we start to see the product of their complaints, where serious grammars were being instituted. In 1549, Du Bellay, poet of the *Pléiade*, wrote *Défense et Illustration de la Langue Françoyse* (*Defense and Illustration of the French Language*) and introduced it as the first text of its kind. Religious and political elements permeated the discussion about which linguistic source should be the basis of the French language. The choice of a principal source for the French language reflected allegiance to or rejection of another European culture. The discourse at the time considered the positive and negative implications of allowing Greek influences into the language. The language would reflect the cultural prestige

of the Greek (positive), but using Greek meant de-emphasizing Latin, which could offend the current inhabitants of Rome, the Italians, who were very influential in the Parisian courts (Kibbee 1993:211). In the end, the French decided to emphasize the linguistic elements of the Franks in their national language. After the government had chosen a contemporary language, the court was too unstable to assert its linguistic authority because of the interceding Wars of Religion at the time. But after the 17th century, the Académie française was born to function as an authority with appointed writers, a judge, and a jury (Kibbee 1993:211).

During the French revolution, revolutionaries argued that "standard French, being the embodiment of logical order and thereby the established norm for intellectual and diplomatic discourse across Europe, should be the language of all the people" (Kibbee 1993:212). Eighty percent of the French population spoke either low-prestige varieties of French (patois) or other languages altogether. Revolutionary thinking argued that by forcing the eighty percent to learn standard French, it would liberate them. In other words, the belief was "the surest agent of the revolution is to have the same language" (Kibbee 1993:212). This sense of linguistic authoritarianism that had originated in the courts now applied as the new instrument of democratization.

In 1794 Abbé Henri-Baptiste Grégoire published his argument on finding necessary means for abolishing patois and universalizing the French language. His recommendation did not have much effect, but he distributed a noteworthy questionnaire which marked a specific stage in French politics of measures taken to "investigate the problem" of local dialects in France (De Certeau 2002: 11-12). De

Certeau states that in the last part of Grégoire's questionnaire, his main objective is clear: to abolish patois (De Certeau 2002:14). These questions, translated, ask: "What would be the religious and political importance to destroy patois entirely?" and "What would be the means of doing this?" (De Certeau 2002:14). In another question, he equates patois with "personal interest", rather than "patriotism". Grégoire's publication supports the idea that a unified French language supports revolutionary values.

In the Third Republic, beginning in 1871, real language policy started to take effect in France mainly because of the efforts of Jules Ferry, France's prime minister. He founded a new system of republican schooling. In 1882, he succeeded in passing laws rendering the primary education in France free, non-clerical, and mandatory. These policies established the French language as the language of the Republic and caused near extinction to several regional languages within two generations. Speaking patois in the school was severely reprimanded. Jones (1994) states, "Illiteracy was equated with inability to speak French, ignorance with anti-republicanism" (225). French was equated with "the language of liberty" while the "mass of corrupted dialects" represented "the vestiges of feudalism" (225). Jones remarks,

> Speech, like the republic, had to become 'one and indivisible' if brutalized peasants were to be brought back within the pale of civilization. Children who broke into their native idioms within school walls were humiliated and punished (Jones 1994:225).

This system promoted the idea that mastery of French was the key to a successful life. During the Third Republic, French as a language became closely associated with the nation itself and equated with universal values. The perception of

the regional language evolved to mean that the speaking a language like Breton or Provençal would hinder nation building and French unity, especially after the defeat of 1870 against the Prussian army. The notion that regional languages were a danger to French patriotism has continued to modern day. The French word now most used for referring to multi-culturalism is "communautarisme", which often has a negative connotation. France has still been the only European country that has not signed the European charter or regional languages.

Thus, in the beginning, strict grammatical rules and the origin of l'Académie française were to protect France from linguistic de-unification, which comprised of only internal struggles. This same grammatical thought would transition toward universal aspects of language.

With France's declining economic and political status following the World Wars and the dissolution of the French empire in the 1950s and 1960s, a new loss of confidence to French identity was born. Kibbee explains:

> With these internal conflicts and concerns, with the external threat of domination from abroad, particularly by the leading example of republican democracy and modernity, the neat categories of competing values outlined above became hopelessly confused. The fear of modernity exemplified in French anti- Americanism crossed party lines, and nowhere is this better demonstrated than in the linguistic manifestation of this phenomenon. Much of that fear of modernity, is a fear that the deed of linguistic authority will be transferred, in the new world order, to a new elite. (Kibbee 1993:213)

The same type of argument from the 14th century—complaining that the lack of unification of a language threatened the French identity—would once again appear

in a perspective defending France against the lingua franca that was posing another threat to the character of their culture.

World English

Around the same time of this particular francophone loss of confidence, World English was thriving through pluricentrism. English had become the primary language in nations of Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Ireland, South Africa, etc. and the first among second languages in India, Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria and a host of other countries around the world. Lexical, phonetic, and sometimes even syntactic differences distinguish these variants of English, but all are recognized as legitimate forms of English.

Competition between the two Linguae Francae

In regards to criticism towards World English, some would argue that English would eventually become incomprehensible from dialect to dialect. In contrast, the French wished (and still wish) to remain monocentric, "Fortunately a French tradition has succeeded in maintaining unity and syntactic rigor of our language, features which guarantee mutual comprehensibility among francophone communities and a relatively rational evolution" (Saint-Robert 1986: 94).

As for the francophone defense of this new world language, the concern over the French lexicon has expressed itself in attacks on the penetration of (specifically American) English vocabulary into French. French academia criticized

"contemporary society, in which America served as a symbol of the worst aspects of modernity" (Kibbee 1993:213). In this vision portrayed in literature and academia, the English language is inherently bad. One critic defined English as "une immense machine à produire du déchet à partir des discours occidentaux" (It is an immense machine that makes garbage out of Western thought) (Kristeva 1977:10). Kibbee argues that these criticisms cause the worst aspects of modern society—instability, big business, industrialization, and materialism—to be associated with English by modern commentators. Kibbee cites that some have tied the cultural attacks to "critiques of specific features of English: compound nouns, verb + particle constructions, the passive voice, the gerundive, and of course, the constantly changing vocabulary" (Kibbee 1993:213). The cultural critiques themselves are being manually engrained into the linguistic structure of English. These arguments based on structure portray English, and especially American English, as a "particularly weak expressive instrument, fatally flawed by a lack of precision, which at the same time is the reason for its popular success" (Kibbee 1993:215).

French critics may question why the United States is actively pushing its language on the world, and the reasoning is such: there is an economic basis for American monolingualism:

> Refusing to learn other languages, and thereby forcing economic activity to be performed in the native language of Americans, gives Americans two advantages: first, it is easier to sell one's products in one's own language; second, the worldwide use of American English permeates cultures everywhere with the sociocultural values of American society, weakening other cultures' resistance to the ideology of materialist consumption that drives American capitalism (Kibbee 1993:213).

In this perspective, it seems that having an economic advantage can imply a linguistic advantage, and vice versa.

Kibbee argues that modern day critiques of American linguistic imperialism are limited to the academic elite. Because the "top-down tradition of linguistic authority" has been engrained since the sixteenth century, this causes only academic authorities to be accredited. He states, "the participants outlined at the beginning of this paper are the only participants allowed to enter the fray, but the excluded are clearly voting with their pocketbooks and wallets" (Kibbee 1993:215).

Kibbee cites Étiemble, who describes the anglicization of France as inevitable. He relates the replacement of French by English on French soil to cultural and political subjugation,

> "La trahison, la vraie, elle est là, présente, chaque jour, à la radio, à la télé, dans la *pub*, aux devantures des magasins. La haute trahison, la voilà, celle dont la France crèvera demain ou après demain » (Étiemble, 1990 :35).

> "Treason, real betrayal, takes place every day, on the radio, on television, in advertising in storefront windows. If you are looking for high treason, there it is, and France will die from it now or in the near futures" (Translation by Kibbee 1993:209).

As Etiemble views the English language as "trahison", others apply in medical terms anglophone, mostly American, influence on the French culture and language. Kibbee 1993 points out that some refer to Anglophone influence as "cancer, an epidemic, a virus with no known cure except abstinence" (210). Kibbee cites Doppagne 1979 with another scientific comparison, one with more positive implications. He relates French's struggle for "preservation to the ecological struggle

for linguidiversity", the preservation of French being equated with the preservation of endangered species (Kibbee 1993:210).

What makes France unique in their defense of their language is their history: "France defines itself on a shared cultural tradition, not a specific political model" (Kibbee 1993:210). Therefore, the threat to the French culture from anglophone influences may be a more sensitive topic since culture is the essence of French identity: "For France the monuments of its literature take place of the American Declaration of Independence and Constitution, or the British Magna Carta and parliamentary traditions, as foundations of the nation" (Kibbee 1993:210).

The French language, then, is vital for French identity. It is "the cultural memory of the nation in a society that has chosen to equate culture with nation" (Kibbee 1993:210). So when someone else is controlling the language, they are controlling a crucial element in political power. Quarrels then naturally develop from this threat of political power into the creation and dissolution of social institutions and associations, namely the Académie française and Le Conseil de la Langue Française. Kibbee observes that even at the height of French influence as a world language, there were already debates in overtly political forums, such as *Rapport du comité de salut public sur les idiomes*, 1794 (Kibbee 1993:210), against English's lexical invasion.

A recent example of French efforts to protect their language from English influence comes from the Olympics of 2014, where two journalists argued about whether or not to use English terms when commentating on snowboarding, or "surf des neiges". One journalist argued, "French is the official Olympic language, I don't

see why we comment on surfboarding with only British nomenclature" (Haushaulter 2014). While the other argued that the only way to accurately describe the sport would be with anglicisms.

In conclusion, we can sum up that until the late nineteenth century French was the dominant international language of modern Western Europe; now French is threatened by the spread of Anglophone influence. Kibbee demonstrates that the protection of the French language has both "negative" and "positive" aspects. On the negative, defensive side, purists criticize certain features of English and the social values they are said to represent, "the rejection of English and specifically American influence on the French language is related to the rejection of modernity, and of the nation-state based on shared political principles rather than shared culture" (Kibbee 1993:209). On the positive, proactive side, international French-language organizations promote French as "the language of francophone brotherhood; this co-operative effort, however, conflicts with the traditional formulation and role of linguistic norms in French society". The author concludes that with the changing composition of French society, the conception of linguistic norms of French may be inevitably changing.

French Perceptions of English as a World Language

Flaitz (1988) also discusses the French perspective on English as the more recent language. He offers a clear summary of the transfer of global French to English as a world language, French responses in academia and politics to the

change, and modern respondents' perceptions. His book begins by explaining that from the 16th to 19th centuries, the French language was "touted and consciously promoted as a vehicle of French culture and ideology" (Flaitz 1988:2). But since then France has lost considerable ground from being the primary political influence in the world, beginning in the 17th century. Reasons for its decline include its "soaring debt", the growth of the German population and army in the late 19th century, and "the rising fortunes of the neophyte United States" (Flaitz 1988:4). After France had to deal with its own revolutions, the Haitian revolution, and selling the Louisiana territory, "French imperialism was a thing of the past and the vehicle of its message, the French language, declined in value and prestige accordingly" (Flaitz 1988:5).

French ceded its status to English, which happened to be the language of the treaties in international government for 5 major international wars stemming from 1887 to 1947 (Flaitz 1988:5). Why English? Why not a language like Chinese, that has more speakers in its language? Flaitz argues that Chinese may have a larger speaking population, but what is important is the amount of political units that speak a language, not the number of speakers (Flaitz 1988:28). Another reason for the success of English, according to Flaitz, is the promotion of English education by non-English mother-tongue countries, specifically in Asia (Flaitz 1988:7). Thus, English was "destined to be in the next and succeeding centuries more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the last, or French in the present age" (Flaitz 1988:3).

If English has become so international, is there an ideology linked to its use? Some sources claim that English is "a language of wider communication that may be culturally and ideologically void" (Flaitz 1988:10) (c.f. Bhatt 2001, Crystal 2003, Kachru 2006, McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008, Melchers 2003).

But Flaitz argues,

> Obviously, languages are not liked or disliked in a vacuum, but rather liked and disliked as symbolic of values of peoples, of ideologies, of behaviors. It is the symbolic nature of English and affect with respect to its associations that we must seek to explore more widely. (Flaitz 1988:10)

He uses examples in previous studies that have shown that what attracts the increasing clientele to a language is "what a language is perceived to be or to stand for, irrespective of objective considerations"(Flaitz 1988:19). With this in mind, Flaitz's primary goal in his study was to investigate French perceptions of the relationship between the English language in its role as an international lingua franca and in American culture and ideology.

In politics and academia, we find a specific view toward English infiltrating the French language. L'Académie Française is famous for promoting a purist view of French and providing rules for the language that maintain this linguistic immaculacy. And as expected, "Puristic and ideological" views toward the national language are seen to be consistent in their negative attitudes toward English (Flaitz 1988:45). Flaitz cites twenty-two books on the subject of the defense of French, and the message carried by them attests to the claim that the English language is perceived to threaten the status of French. One book, *Le Dictionnaire des mots contemporains*, describes modern French as "la langue française contemporaine,

dans la mesure où elle est *contaminée* par un excés d'emprunts à l'anglais", or "the contemporary version of French that is *contaminated* by an excess of borrowed English words" (61, emphasis and translation mine). The author of *Le Dictionnaire* refers to English borrowings, such as the common anglicisms like "le jogging" or "un pull", as contaminations. These borrowings pose a threat to any linguistic purist; "this transformation of vocabulary is major evidence of diffusion of a world language and its integration into a mother tongue" (Flaitz 1988:33).

In the public spectrum, protection of French infiltration has been implemented beginning in 1994 with quotas of French music instituted on the radio. These efforts to refocus French music back on the French language revitalized the nation's music business. (Commité Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel). There were other laws implemented that restricted the use of English in government documents, but these had no real long-term effect.

Such defense against English infiltration is argued as necessary for three things: 1) protection against the loss of French political, social, and linguistic prestige; 2) defense against linguistic "corruption", of which I have previously discussed in such forms as borrowing (deviation from the most traditional, "pure" form of a language); and 3) defense against anglophone ideological colonization (Flaitz 1988:61). So with such motives, it seems evident that there is an ideological attachment to English. According to French academia, English, rather than having any sort of independent ideological attachment of one culture or another, represents a world language that more-so takes away from the ideological attachments the French have established within their own language. It has been noted however, that

despite all this protection, the defense of French is largely confined to intellectual pursuit and debate (Flaitz 1988:49). Studies have found that official and academic response to the spread of English in France differs markedly from the response of the general public (Flaitz 1988:194). One can argue, however, that the public supports the protection of French from English in its support of the French music industry, as previously mentioned.

Could status have an effect on one's perception of English? Wallace Lambert conducted a study in Montreal of French and English-speaking subjects' reactions to French and English guises. English-speaking subjects responded more favorably to voices taped in their own language than they did to French guises. So, too, were the French-speaking respondents "more favorably disposed toward the English voices." The francophone respondents that gave favorable ratings to the guises representing the subjects' own speech community often came from individuals belonging to "a high-status group". Those belonging to groups having a lower status tended to rate English highly (Flaitz 1988:46). From this study we can assume that status does indeed have an effect on the perception of English and thus may suggest that academia have a different perception than that of "the general public". "High-status" groups and academia can be regarded together as one entity that does not regard English as highly as the general public.

Another factor that may affect linguistic perception is age. Several research studies were cited in Flaitz's publication, claiming "children appear to display greater linguistic tolerance than do their elders" (Flaitz 1988:50) and "younger subjects are almost always more favorably disposed toward English than are older

subjects" (Flaitz 1988:51). In Flaitz's own research, he discovered that age was a factor, but not a significant one. In his qualitative study in sociolinguistic interviews, he noted "younger [subjects] tended in general to hold slightly more positive opinions of both American and British ideology, culture, and people" (Flaitz 1988:183) but differences between younger and older respondents were significant only with respect to items dealing with "respect for Americans, evaluation of English as a world language, and the notion that Americans think only of money" (Flaitz 1988:183). In the forced choice questionnaire (his quantitative study), he concluded that the variable of age did not appear to produce a "sizeable schism between younger and older cohorts" (Flaitz 1988:194). This question regarding whether age affects ideology is still open. My question is: if younger French subjects are more favorably disposed to English, does this suggest a generational shift in attitude? Or are these attitudes solely associated with an age range, which will eventually develop into a more defensive standpoint?

Another factor worthy to consider is the subject's proficiency in the language being evaluated; for instance, does a French person who speaks proficient English have a more positive opinion of English than one who does not speak it well? This linguistic aptitude could reflect the subject's curiosity in the language, which would correlate with positive perceptions. Flaitz cites a previous perceptual study by Spolsky that showed "the data did reveal that the varying degrees of integrative orientation measured by attitudes toward self, own language group, and target language group, were positively correlated to proficiency" (Flaitz 1988:41). When Flaitz himself tested out this correlation, he asked the French respondents to rate

their proficiency in English when they answered questions regarding attitudes toward English. He found that no relationship existed between proficiency and attitudes, but the "data [was] inaccurate due to the fact that it was based on self report rather than on scientific measurement" (Flaitz 1988:196). Therefore, Flaitz classified this hypothesis as inconclusive.

Chapter Three: The Perceptual Study and French Attitudes Towards Second Language Learners

Preston 2008's research is a useful example of a perceptual study that investigates regionalistic attitudes in the U.S. towards other regions' culture and language. The author introduces the topic by saying, "it is also clear that language has a life of its own and that our understanding of folk belief about various aspects of language itself also plays an important role in understanding the foundations for language attitudes" (Preston 2008: 40). He reemphasizes another author's earlier indication that people's reactions to language varieties reveal much of their perception of the speakers of these varieties (Edwards 1982:20).

One way to test people's reactions to language and their relations to their perception of the speakers is through the "matched guise" stimulus presentation, which was first proposed by Wallace Lambert in 1960 in French-speaking Canada. It includes a recording of the language and provides marked scales of opposites from which the respondent can select degrees of their impressions of the speaker. These original studies included scales having to do with three particular factor groups: competence, personal integrity, and social attractiveness.

Preston cites Milroy and McClenaghan when he discusses that stereotyped responses can be evoked from the respondent without being filtered through conscious identification of the group,

> It has been widely assumed that an accent acts as a cue identifying a speaker's group membership. Perhaps this identification takes place below the level of conscious awareness… Presumably by hearing similar accents very frequently [one] has learnt to associate them with their reference groups. In other words, accents with which people are familiar may *directly* evoke stereotyped responses without the listener first consciously assigning the speaker to a particular reference group (Milroy and McClenaghan 1977:8-9, italics original).

Related to this argument is Irvine 1996's definition of iconicity, which explains that the language serves as a symbol for social implications,

> *Iconicity* is a semiotic process that transforms the sign relationship between linguistic features and the social images to which they are linked. Linguistic differences appear to be *iconic* representations of the social contrasts they *index* – as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence (Irvine 1996:40, italics original).

One of Preston's studies was a regional study involving 147 respondents from Michigan, in which he asked them to draw their perceived speech regions of the country on a map. They were then asked on a Likert scale-based survey to rate these regions based on social status and group solidarity. The attributes mentioned included qualities of being *casual, friendly, down-to-earth, polite, nasality, normal, smart, having twang, having good English, being educated, fast*, or *without a drawl*. The most important speech region for the respondents, as in the one drawn by 97% of respondents, was the region of the South. The second most important region marked was the North. Preston compared their scores and discovered that although the South had average low scores in certain categories pertaining social status, rating them generally abnormal, dumb, having a twang, with bad English, uneducated, slow and a drawl, they had significantly higher scores than the North in categories of casual, friendly, and down to earth (Preston 2008:57).

This particular study sparked my interest in French attitudes towards language groups, specifically English and American second language-learners of French. If a language or an accent were even considered unattractive, would that mean that all social impressions of the speaker were negative? Or would a similar phenomenon occur as in Preston's study, where negative aesthetic linguistic features do not always mean negative social characteristics?

With interest in the subject of linguistic attitudes, I pushed questions further: We have analyzed past studies regarding French perceptions towards English as a world language and perceptions of personality based on awareness of speech communities, but what about French perceptions towards second-language learners of French, particularly with American English as their first language?

As previously mentioned, the matched guise test (respondent listens to a recording of speech and provides marked scales of opposites from which the he or she can indicate his or her impression of the speaker) is a useful tool for answering questions based on perception.

French Attitudes toward Typical Speech Errors of American Speakers of French

Ensz 1982 investigates which category of errors typically made by French-speaking Americans— errors in pronunciation, vocabulary, or grammar—is the most objectionable to the French ear. He and his fellow researchers asked 250 people in interviews to register their reactions to taped speech samples of Americans speaking French using the matched guise format. The language varied only in error content from one speech sample to another—the voice, the speaker, and the content remained constant.

There were three passages comprising three sets of speech samples, recorded respectively by three speakers. Each set contained five guises or versions distinguished by error content. Guises of the same passage were never ordered consecutively so as to minimize the possibility of the French listeners realizing they were hearing only three speakers instead of fifteen separate individuals. Respondents were chosen from surveys that indicated that they were involved in tourism, a study abroad program, or an educational exchange program, which would imply that they would be people more likely to communicate with American speakers of French, but not to an extensive level of exposure that may familiarize and blind the respondent to typical speech errors.

If the set included pronunciation errors, this meant that the speaker implemented diphthongization of French vowel sounds and misplaced accentuation within a multisyllable word or within a rhythm group. If the set included grammatical errors, the speech included conjugation of irregular verbs as if they were regular verbs, conjugation of verbs with the incorrect auxiliary (*avoir/être*), lack of correct noun-adjective agreement, and mistaken use of verb tense. If the set included lexical errors in the speech, then false cognates, incorrect verb usage with *savoir* and *connaître*, or a literal translation of idioms was implemented.

Each guise had a different emphasis. Some had the grammar, pronunciation, or vocabulary as near native, but with one or more of the other categories being incorrect. The matched guise test was used to rate the speaker after hearing each speech sample on a series of "polarized personality characteristics indicative of the broad qualities of competence, personal integrity, or social attractiveness" (Ensz 1982: 135).

The results indicated that Guise One, the only one containing grammatical errors, was rated significantly lower than all other guises…

> …by the sample of French listeners as a whole as well as by all subsamples grouped by sex, age, occupation, or region of residence in France. While errors in grammar were clearly considered the least tolerable, ratings of the other guises did not reveal whether errors in pronunciation or errors in vocabulary are the next least tolerable. They appeared to evoke approximately the same reactions. (Ensz 1982:137).

Thus, this particular study concludes that phonology and vocabulary errors, while noticeable and causing effect, did not affect the French respondents' view on the speaker's social aptitudes as much as the grammatical mistakes did. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006) demonstrate the same effects on social perceptions from language in American English:

> Although there are exceptions, grammatical variables are more likely to show sharp stratification than phonological ones. This underscores the fact that grammatical features are typically more diagnostic of social differences than phonological ones with respect to the standard-nonstandard continuum of English. (176)

Chapter Four: What is the American Accent?

Second Language Acquisition in L1 English L2 French

So if a speaker has perfect grammar but he or she still has an accent, and these differences are "noticeable and causing effect", what ideology is attached to the American accent? Before we can answer these questions, we must define what an "accent" is and how to detect it in speech. In Major (2001), the author explains what is happening phonologically when a speaker acquires a second language,

> Adults learning a second or foreign language often produce errors or non-native substitutions, including a foreign accent and non-native grammatical utterances (e.g., an English speaker who fails to master the Spanish trill and subjunctive verb constructions). Although a learner's substitutions are often errors from the standpoint that they are not native-like, they are representative of an underlying system, just as a child learning a first language has an underlying linguistic system, albeit different from adult native speakers of that language. For example, an adult French learner of English may substitute [z] for [ð] (the sound in *the*) but never [p], [b], [k], or [g]. (Major 2001: 1)

The author terms the adult second language learner's linguistic system "the Interlanguage" (IL). He explains that the "accent", or non-native characteristics due to negative transfer or interference from the system of the first language (L1), is transferred to the second language (L2). When the phenomena of L1 and L2 are different, errors result. This kind of transfer may occur at all linguistic levels: lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, discourse, and culture. But in the case of "the accent", it is phonological (Major 2001: 1).

Positive transfer, or lack of accent, occurs when the phenomena are the same, resulting in native-like utterances: "IL can contain non-native elements due to negative transfer and native-like elements due to positive transfer, and it can also be composed of native-like elements that are not due to positive transfer, simply because the learner has correctly learned these L2 structures" (Major 2001:3).

Major 2001 argues that sometimes elements of the Interlanguage are not from L1 or L2. He explains that such errors may appear to be anomalous but further investigation demonstrates that they are a result of universals of language acquisition. Learners from a variety of language backgrounds often make the same mistakes in L2 (Major 2001:3). An example of this is for first language speakers of Japanese, Italian, and Portuguese, who, according to Major 2001, often utter [rot] for *road* when learning English. The author points out that Japanese, Italian, Portuguese speakers have both [t] and [d] in their L1, but they have neither sound in word final position. He argues that the reason for this error is because "universally for all language learners, both child and adult, it is easier to pronounce a final [t] than a final [d]" (Major 2001:4). Thus, the author claims that some errors do not come from negative transfer of L1, but from Universal grammar principles, "The innate abilities present in children are alive and well in adult L2 learners" (Major 2001:4).

The Second Language Learner's Challenge

Major 2001 explains the distinguished levels of mastering the phonology of a language. They include a) individual segments, or phonemes, such as being able to produce the French phoneme /ü/ in *tu*; b) combinations of segments, or syllables, such as

being able to produce a syllable with an "onset of three consonants in *strong*, and a syllable with a coda of four consonants in *worlds*"; c) prosody which includes stress, rhythm, tone, intonation; and d) global accent, or the overall accent of a speaker. The author defines the global foreign accent as "the result of a non-native combination of (a), (b), and (c)". If a speaker masters native-like pronunciation of one or two of these levels, but not all three, then a foreign or non-native accent results (Major 2001:12).

Within the segmental level, the learner needs to master the individual characteristics of sounds as well as the allophonic processes or "the rules of how sounds change in different contexts" (Major 2001:14). One difference between Romance languages and English in the segmental phonological level is the English /t/, which is made by "placing the tongue on the ridge behind the top teeth, the alveolar ridge, but not against the teeth as speakers of French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish do" (Major 2001:13-14). In the English word *two* the /t/ is aspirated, but in Spanish, *tu* "you, familiar" the /t/ is not aspirated. Likewise in English *stew*, the /t/ is unaspirated (Major 2001:14).

For imitating L2 syllables, challenges for the speaker do not only come from complicated consonant clusters, but also from individual timing and consonant-vowel structure. A syllable is the native speaker's institution of such a unit of timing. For example, Major refers to the Spanish word *adios*, which has two syllables to native speakers, "but to an English-speaking listener it has three syllables"(Major 2001:14). Additionally, second language learners typically modify syllable structures to fit their first language structures. A first language and second language could have differences in

CVC, CV or VC varieties, and therefore adapt to a new language by projecting the first language convention onto the second language syllable structure (Major 2001:15).

Another level of L2 that may be challenging for the speaker is prosody. Certain aspects of prosody differences can cause negative transfers in the IL. Major defines stress as

> the perceived prominence, that is, the loudness of a syllable. It correlates with vowel duration and also pitch change, but it may not always correspond to acoustic intensity, as some sounds are intrinsically more intense than others, for example, low vowels have more intensity than high vowels, fricatives more intensity than stops, and so on" (Major 2001:16).

Stress patterns of L1 tend to also be transferred in L2 acquisition. For example, Major explains, a French speaker may say *problém* in English, or an English speaker *próbleme* in French (Major 2001:16). Differences in stress and length of syllables can also affect rhythm and timing, which are "the repetitive patterns of stress and length" (Major 2001:17).

So, Major argues that when listeners hear another person speaking the listeners' native language, consciously or unconsciously they make judgments whether the person is a native speaker or non-native speaker of their language. The global foreign accent is "the overall impression concerning NSs form whether or not and to what degree a person sounds native or non-native" (Major 2001:19). The non-native accent can usually be detected much more easily "the longer and more informal the stretch of speech, for example, a 10-minute informal conversation versus a word list"(Major 2001:19). Major 2001 states "in a short utterance, uttering one word such as *no*, the speaker can avoid a number of segmental and prosodic phenomena (in this case no stress, minimal intonation,

no novel phonemes, no consonant clusters, etc.). However, in a longer stretch of speech, avoidance is impossible" (19).

The author points out that measuring global foreign accent is interesting on its own as a "diagnostic of overall pronunciation proficiency" (19), but it is usually evaluated so that it can be tested with other factors, such as age of acquisition, language attitudes, comprehensibility, and other linguistic phenomena, with language attitudes being the subject of my own research. The measurement of global foreign accent is important in order to assess certain stages of development. A central concern in second language acquisition is order of acquisition, that is, "stages of development of a variety of L2 characteristics". Because the vast majority of second language acquisition research is "cross-sectional rather than longitudinal (studying learners over a period of time)", this means that "in order to extrapolate stages the researcher must know the competence level of the learners" (Major 2001:20).

Types of Transfer

When one approaches any new learning situation, the tendency is to transfer familiar patterns already acquired to the new situation. Major gives the example of a baseball player at first attempt using a baseball swing when learning to play hockey, but he quickly discovers that he has to use a different swing (Major 2001:30). First language transfers are caused by the speaker's perception of the second language being "filtered through the sieve" of the first language. A French native speaker may use word final stress patterns and the uvular /R/, because of the perceptions from their own first language. This tendency in a group of non-native speakers will produce what is known as

a perceived French accent, following general patterns of French phonology with English content. The American accent may be marked by the usage of / ɹ / and marked vowel reduction.

Major introduces the theory of Contrastive Analysis (CA), which utilizes notion of transfer by comparing and contrasting languages. By observing all of the differences, CA could "supposedly predict and explain all L2 errors because of the prevailing belief that all errors were due to transfer" (Major 2001:31). CA lists seven different phonological differences from languages and transfer processes:

1) Sound substitution occurs when an L2 learner uses the nearest equivalent in the L1 for the intended sound. For example, when learning /θ ð/ French speakers use /s z/. For English alveolar /t^h/ Spanish and French speakers substitute /t/ (unaspirated), when learning French /y/ English speakers use /u/.

2) A phonological process occurs when allophonic processes are transferred, such as the English speaker's tendency to use a velarized or dark [ɬ] for final clear [l] when speaking Spanish or French (*eel* [iɬ] vs. *il* [il], "he", *l* [Eɬ] v. *el* [el]"he") (Major 2001:31).

3) Underdifferentiation occurs when L2 has distinctions that the L1 does not, for example, a French speaker using /i/ for English /i/ and /ɪ/.

4) Overdifferentiation is just the opposite, when L1 has distinctions that the L2 does not. Overdifferentiation is not the most noticeable component in the global accent, but it "results in different mental representation from that of a NS." He gives the example, "English /d/ and /ð/ are separate phonemes whereas in Spanish they are allophones (/d/ → [ð] after vowels)" (Major 2001:31).

5) Reinterpretation of Distinctions is a process through which the language learner is not aware of primary distinctive features in the L2. According to the standard distinctive feature theory, "some features are considered primary, therefore distinctive, with others secondary or redundant" (Major 2001:31). American English has qualitative tense/ lax distinction as a primary distinction, "while quantitative difference, length, is redundant or concomitant feature". Beet v. bit differs in tenseness, but the native speaker does not hear a length difference. On the other hand, for German length is the primary feature and quality secondary. "The German speaker reinterprets the contrasts and thinks the primary difference between English *beet* and *bit* is length rather than vowel quality" (Major 2001:31).

6) Phonotactic Interference occurs "when sound patterns of L1 and L2 are different the syllable and word structures are modified to fit L1 patterns" (Major 2001:31). For example, if syllables of a certain language cannot end in stops, English *ping pong* and *picnic* to a Brazilian Portuguese native speaker could become ping[i] pong[i] and pic[i]nic[i] .

7) Prosodic Interference is when L1 and L2 have different prosodic patterns, such as when a French speaker stresses the last syllable in English words, when an American uses English intonation patterns when speaking Chinese, or when a Spanish speaker uses syllable-timing in English (Major 2001:31).

Other difficulties

Major's research has shown that forming similar sounds tend to be more difficult than dissimilar sounds, because larger differences in sounds are more often noticed, "due

to perceptual saliency" (Major 2001:37). On the other hand, minimal differences are "less likely to be noticed", which results in no learning. An English speaker may not notice the difference between English alveolar aspirated /t/ and French unaspirated dental /t̪/ So when speaking French, the native English speaker may use the English sound. However, the speaker may notice that the *rs* are different in the two languages. After initially using English /ɹ/, the speaker may immediately show progress and improve on making the French uvular /R/. Major explains, " One reason why the acquisition of French /R/ and / t̪ / are different has to do with transfer. Psychologists and learning theorists have shown that transfer operates when there are relevant phenomena to transfer"(Major 2001:37). So, equivalent or "similar" sounds are more difficult to learn because "the speaker perceives and classifies them as equivalent to those in the L1 and no new phonetic category is established, whereas "new" (dissimilar or different) sounds are easier to learn because the speaker perceives these differences and establishes new phonetic categories" (Major 2001:38). Fledge created the Speech Learning Model (1987b) to demonstrate this argument. He further did research for Americans learning French /u/ and /y/, and he found "that advanced learners produce /ü/ authentically (the dissimilar or "new" sound), but produced /u/ unauthentically (the similar or "equivalent sound)" (Major 2001:39).

Another difficulty, Major argues, is that reflections of universals occur in L1 acquisition. Not everything in L1 acquisition also occurs in L2 acquisition, but

> "there are important differences between an adult and child, such as maturational differences and the fact that an adult has already acquired a language… L2 phenomena are universals just the same. An L1 English-L2 french learner probably will not devoice final obstruents, even though L1 learners of both languages do. This is simply because adult NSs of both languages have already acquired final voiced obstruents" (Major 2001:42).

There is certainly variation among second language speakers, and many serious SLA researchers "consider variation important in any encompassing theory of SLA" (Major 2001:79). One particular form of second language speakers' variation is motivation and its effects. It is a common assumption that motivation for learning a language and linguistic success are mutually reinforcing. Gardner and Lambert's integrative and instrumental motivation study (1972) investigated this subject, "An integratively motivated learner desires to become completely integrated into the L2 society and essentially wants to pass for native, which implies acquiring native-like language proficiency; an instrumentally motivated learner wants to use the L2 in order to achieve very specific goals (getting a job)" (Major 2001:67). Of course, although motivation can be a powerful factor, even if the learner is strongly motivated to learn a language there are other personality factors that can slow down success. Major gives examples such as inhibition, anxiety, lack of empathy, and low ego permeability (Major 2001:67).

Coates 1986 also performed a study on correlation between motivation and pronunciation proficiency. He found a "strong positive correlation between pronunciation proficiency and grade point average and the need for achievement" (Major 2001:68).

Major describes Interlanguage development over time, and the comparative effects of second language conventions, first language conventions, and universal properties. He illustrates with pie graphs of the percentage of influence for each effect during the development of a second language. Major makes a strong argument throughout his discussion that Interlanguage develops *chronologically* in the following manner: L2 increases in influence over time, L1 influence decreases over time, and universal properties increase to fill in unrecognized gaps in imitation, and then decreases

once the speaker has conformed to L2 structure (Major 2001:85). The important thing to take away from this argument is that *Phonological differences in second language have developing influences and therefore become smaller over time*. This assumption is important when researching foreign accents, their "levels", and the speaker's experience.

To conclude research on foreign accent, the most valuable information from these sources is to know that there is a way to empirically analyze accents based on phonological differences, to point out differences in non-native and native speakers (differences in the structure of first and second languages), and to gauge the "strength" of an accent based on its conventions. For my research, we will analyze the accents that are used to demonstrate that some are "stronger" than others.

Next, we will look at how the reasons for accent, mainly negative transfers, occur in the L1-English L2-French speech.

English-to-French transfers

Germain-Rutherford (2000) lists challenges of L1 English-L2 French learners, one of them being segmental transfers. She explains that there can be problems in consonant/ vowel articulation (not enough articulatory tenseness), causing diphthong use or consonant mispronunciation; wrong placement of articulatory organs, causing a change in vowel or consonant tone; and closed syllabification from English conventions causing a change in vowel tone (Germain-Rutherford: 2012).

Vowels

Darcy et al. performed a study based on vowel differences in French and English:

> "In French, the high front rounded vowel /y/ contrasts with the high back rounded vowel /u/ and the mid front rounded vowel /œ/ contrasts with the mid back rounded vowel /ɔ/, whereas in English neither front rounded vowel occurs. We examine in tandem the degree to which intermediate and advanced English-speaking learners can categorize the front vs. back, rounded vowel contrasts /y/–/u/ and /œ/–/ɔ/ in non-words, as well as these same learners' lexical representations of /y/–/u/ and /œ/–/ɔ/ minimal pairs. Thus, we consider these contrasts at two levels: segmental phonetic categorization and phonological representations in the lexicon" (Darcy et al. 7 2012).

We have also already observed Major's example of Anglophones using /u/ instead of /y/ in *tu*. These examples of vowel differences can be mapped out on a vowel chart, as Germain-Rutherford (2000) has demonstrated (Figure 1):

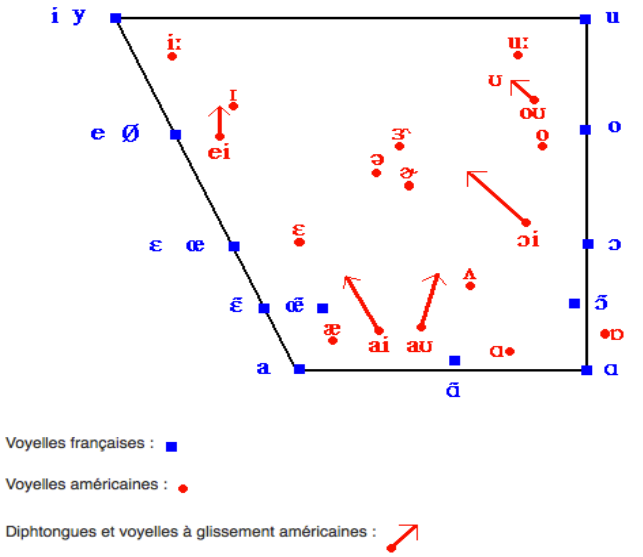


Figure 1
Source: Germain-Rutherford 2000

The common trend regarding vowels is that English speakers tend to use diphthongs to replace French vowels. English vowels distinguish themselves from French notably by the vast number of diphthongs. Germain-Rutherford gives examples of English diphthongs:" [eɪ] grey, great, sleigh, engage, gauge, etc. ; [au] house, plow ; [aɪ] my, tide, thigh, buy, etc" (Germain-Rutherford:2000). She gives the example of *c'est chaud* [seʃo] being pronounced as *say, show* [sɛiʃɔou] in the American accent because of diphthong transfers of similar sounds in American English over to French vowels. Other negative transfers are caused by the lack of the rounded front vowels class in English that is necessary in French. English also does not contain nasal vowels like French.

Consonants

From Major's *Foreign Accent*, we have already mentioned that the English /t/ is pronounced by placing the tongue on the ridge behind the top teeth, the alveolar ridge, unlike the /t̪/ in French, which is pronounced by placing the tongue against the teeth. This is in addition to the difference between the aspirated and unaspirated /t/. Another allophonic process occurs when the English speaker uses a velarized or dark [ɬ] for final clear [l] when speaking French, so it sounds like *eel* [iɬ] instead of *il* [il] (Major 2001:31). The American accent may also be marked by the usage of /ɹ/ instead of the French uvular/ʀ/. We have also already observed that an L1 English- L2 French learner probably will not devoice final obstruents in general, even though L1 English speakers are capable in their own language. Therefore, this is a case of positive transfer.

English also contains consonant clusters, while French does not. These include the common [tʃ] (church, lunch, chip, ditch) and [dʒ] (judge, journal, jem) consonant clusters. These combinations, although they do not exist in French, may be transferred because of the speaker's perceptions that the French "ch" and "j" orthography might represent the same sounds (rather than /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, respectively).

Germain-Rutherford 2000 argues that all consonants formed from the point of the tongue are more "anterior" in French than in English. She gives the example of [t], [d], [n], and [l], which in English, are directed toward the alveolar ridge or the palate, but in French, are directed toward the front teeth. This direction of the consonant gives a "vocal anticipation", and a much more clear, final consonant, regardless of its location in the syllable (example: the difference in [s] in *set, said, sane, sell* vs. *cette, cède, saine, celle*). It is also by this vocal anticipation that unaspirated consonants are more prominent in [p t k]. The author compares French *pique* [pik] with English *peak* [pʰik]. This aspiration often transfers over to L2 learners of French.

Another difference between English and French consonants has to do with final consonant relaxation. In English, the lips close after a final consonant is formed and usually do not reopen in the case of [l n m]. In French, the final syllable is longer, causing the mouth opening to be more gradual, and the final consonant is pronounced almost as if it begins a new syllable. Germain-Rutherford describes it as, "la bouche se rouvre légèrement et un embryon de voyelle se fait entendre"(2000). Translated, the mouth is slightly opened and the beginning of a vowel is heard. For example, if an L1 English-L2 French said the sentence "Je suis canadienne", it would sound as [ʒə.sɥ i.ka.na.djɛn]. But

if a native French person said the same sentence, the listener would hear a hint of "[ʒə.sɥ i.ka.na.djɛn.(nə)]", with a slight extra vowel coming from the ending in [n].

Enchaînements/ liaisons

A common feature of French is l'enchaînement, which occurs when one word ends with a pronounced consonant and the following word begins with a vowel. The final consonant of the first word is pronounced as the first consonant of its neighbor. The consonant "chains itself" to the following word, forming a syllable. For example, "Il arrive" = [i.la.ʀ.iv] (Germain-Rutherford 2000). A liaison occurs when a word ends with a written, unpronounced consonant and the next word begins with a vowel. A similar linkage occurs where the unpronounced ending consonant becomes pronounced and forms a new syllable with the beginning vowel of the neighbor word. "Un petit enfant" becomes [ɛ̃.pə.ti.tɔ̃.fɑ̃]. English speakers do not have these features in their L1, therefore they can transfer their lack of enchaînement to their French speech, contributing to the Anglophone accent. Germain- Rutherford explains that a French speaker learning English sometimes will not know the difference between *too late* and *tool eight*. He or she would pronounce both as *too late*.

Prosody: Rhythm and Accent

The accent in French is carried on the last syllable of a word or group of words, contrary to English, which does not have a fixed accent. This accent in French also differs from English because it is based on length and accentuated syllable and not on stronger intensity or higher pitch. An accented syllable in French is less distinguishable

than an accented syllable in English (Germain-Rutherford 2000). Its principle trait is lasting longer than unaccentuated syllables. L1 English-L2 French learners can contribute to their accent by not accentuating the last syllable of a word or group of words. A good example of this is Major's example of when an English speaker says *próbleme* in French, and not *problème.*

Chapter Five: Research Methods

In order to observe French perceptions of L2 learners of French varying in different levels of phonetic competence, I followed the practices of the aforementioned researchers and collected data from matched guise tests. If American learners of French have varying accents, would this make a respective difference in the perceptions of French listeners? How do American L2 learners of French compare in perceptions to English in general?

Twenty-three French respondents were surveyed, ranging from ages 18 to 75, male and female, using the "matched guise" format of testing. The respondents were found on train rides, in cafés, in apartments, and in farms, from the South in Toulouse to the Southeast in Montpelier and all the way up to the French-Swiss Alp region in Chambéry, France. Their origins are various. This was not a random sample of respondents; rather, the sample represents people who are native to France and who were willing to take the survey. The respondents listened to six recordings. Five of the recordings composed of the following sentence (a quote by Voltaire):

"Le premier pas, mon fils, que l'on fait dans le monde, est celui dont dépend le reste de nos jours."

One recording was the direct English translation:

"The first step, my son, which one makes in the world, is one on which depends the rest of our days."

I selected the particular quotation, for two reasons: 1) its noncontroversial content to minimize impressions formed by the text itself and 2) its variation in French phonemes, which covers 22 out of the 38 indicated phonemes in the French language (*Le Petit Robert* 1988: XXI).

The five French recordings are titled as follows: American teacher of French, French woman, American student, Italian, and Exaggerated American. I included Italian recordings for control purposes, looking at perceptions of the American accent contrasted with another second language French speaker. I also included a recording of a woman speaking French, her native language, for the sake of control and comparing the respondents' own speech community to their perceptions of other speech communities. The first recording was spoken by a female American French teacher, 59 years of age who has a Masters in French. She has studied French for over forty years. The second French recording is spoken by a French woman, who was born and raised in France but has lived in the United States for the past 20 years. Her age is 65. The third recording was spoken by a male American French student, 60 years old, who minored in French in college, and who has regularly taken weekly French lessons for the past twenty years. This male speaker of the same age functions to offer a variable in gender and aptitude. The fourth French recording is spoken by a young Italian woman, age 20, who has been learning the language since she was five years old as her second language. These four recordings of the speakers were the genuine first trial reading of the quote. No accents were forced or emphasized to make their voices sound differently. The fifth French

recording, however, was as a result of a made-up accent by the researcher herself. The accent is an exaggerated American accent, replacing French vowels with certain diphthongs and semi-vowels from English phonetics (upon which we will elaborate later). The English recording was also spoken by the researcher herself, an American, with no altered or forced accent but that of her own natural speech.

To be more "quantitative" about the recordings themselves, I have transcribed each and compared them to "Standard French". [:] denotes long vowels, [::] for a particularly long vowel; [#] indicates pauses; the superscript [w] indicates a gliding pronunciation (sometimes what we would perceive to be a "diphthong" from American speech):

"Standard French"
lə.pRə.mje.pa#mɔ̃.fis#kə.lɔ̃.fɛ.dɑ̃.lə.mɔ̃:d#e.sə.lɥi.dɔ̃.de.pɑ̃.lə.Rɛs.tə.də.no.ʒu:R

1. American teacher of French
lə.pRə.mji.e.pa#mɔ̃.fis.kə.lɑ̃.fe.dɑ̃.lə.mɔ̃n.e.sə.lɥi.dɔ̃.de.pɑ̃.lə.Rɛs.də.no.ʒu

2.French woman
lə.pRə.mje.pa.mɔ̃.fis.kə.lɔ̃.fɛ.dɑ̃.lə.mɔ̃d.ɛ.sə.lɥi.dɔ̃.de.pɑ̃.lə.Rɛs.tə.də.no.ʒuR

3. American student of French
lə.pə.mji.e.pa:mɔ̃.fis#kə.lɑ̃.feɪ::dɑ̃.le.mɔ̃:eɪ.se.lɥi. dɑ̃.de.pɑ̃.lə.Rɛst.də.no^{w}.ʒu:

4. Italian
lə.pRə.mje.pa.mɔ̃n.fis#kə.lɔ̃.fe.dɑ̃.le.mɔ̃d#e.se.lɥi.dɑ̃.de.pɑ̃.le.Rɛs.tə.də.no.ʒu.Rə

5. Exaggerated American
lə.prɛ.mjɪr.pa.mɔ̃n.fis.kə.lɑ̃w.feɪ.dɑ̃.lə.mɔ̃d.eɪ.sə.lɥiy.dɔ̃.de.pɑ̃w.lə.rɛst.də.now.ʒɔr

6. English
ðə.fərst.stɛp.maj.sʌn#wɪtʃ.wʌn.m eᴵks.ɪn.ðə.wɪrld#ɪz.ðə.wən.ɑn.wɪtʃ.də.
pɛndz.ðə.rɛst.əv.a.wər.deᴵz

Listed below in Table 1 are the differences in phonetic differences in the six samples compared to "Standard French" (See Appendix C to see how I calculated phonetic differences):

Recording	Phonetic differences
French woman	3
American teacher	6
Italian	8
American student	12
Exaggerated American	16
English	∞

Table 1

Transcription notes:

The French woman only deviated from the Standard French's vowel lengths and pausing and from one difference in [ɛ] and [e] (very similar vowels, see vowel chart on page 30). She used [ɛ] for *est* instead of [e]. The American teacher of French and American student of French's deletion of [R] is predictable of American accent. The American teacher pronounced *jours* as [ʒu], while the American student said [ʒu:], compared to the French. It is interesting to see that it follows characteristic patterns: students learn not to pronounce final consonants like [R]—the student's deletion in "premier" [pemjie]. However, this phonetic concept might carry over into other articulations that do not apply (for instance, deleting the final [d] in *monde* or saying [mɔ̃n] instead). Once the final consonant pattern is mastered, students learn to add exceptions back in as in *jour* where final [R] is pronounced. The native French does so, but neither the American student nor the teacher does. The teacher also lacks a clear distinction among her nasal vowels.

I also analyzed the prosody of the texts impressionistically, classifying each speaker's syllables by pitch (out of four levels). I have also counted the differences of each compared to standard French prosody patterns (see Table 2). I considered a mismatch of pitch levels and syllables to be a difference (For a more detailed analysis, see Appendix C).

Speaker	Differences	
American teacher	8	67% accurate
French woman	0	100% accurate
American student	6	75% accurate
English	9	63% accurate
Italian	8	67% accurate
Exaggerated	7	71% accurate

Table 2

However, I do not consider this table to be an accurate depiction of prosodic patterns and relationships to standard French prosody. For instance, both the French native and the American teacher drop their voices at "mon fils" to mark it as separated from the clause, but the French teacher drops one level below the French native (the French teacher was obviously taught this explicitly). The American student has not yet acquired this feature at all, thus the raising of pitch over "mon fils." However, if we just look at the differences from standard French, we would see that while speaking the words "mon fils", the French teacher has two differences in pitch from the standard French (because her pitch levels for both syllables are one pitch too low), and that the American student also has two differences from typical French speech (because he raised his pitch). Even though the American teacher's prosody would be qualitatively more accurate, since

she followed the pattern of lowering her voice for incision, both texts appear by the numbers to be equally inaccurate.

Also to note: the Italian follows the Italian prosody patterns of accentuating one syllable in each semantically important word, unlike French. Prosodic patterns like this that are characteristic of the first language of the speaker contribute to his or her global accent.

The respondents were given a handout with six sections, each dedicated to the appropriate recording. The sections were put in the following order:

1) American French Teacher
2) American French student
3) French woman
4) English
5) Italian woman
6) Exaggerated American Accent

In each section the survey asks the respondent to select their first impression of the recording according to a list of qualities that the recording's speaker may have. A four-point Likert scale is provided to measure the speaker's aptitude for each quality. The qualities listed were: 1) intelligence, 2) attractiveness, 3) friendliness, 4) trustworthiness, and 5) charm. (A sample survey is included in appendix B.) I used a similar approach as Preston (2008)'s matched guise format that surveyed the factor groups including competence, personal integrity, and social attractiveness.

Field Note: There were some things that were not expected that occurred during the survey. Some surveyors, instead of circling a number, wrote in their own in-between

numbers as a compromise for a score. Also, surveyors who were at a table together would sometimes discuss their opinions about each survey, which may have affected their rankings for each recording.

Each characteristic differs in implication. For instance, someone may not be physically attractive, but by their demeanor they can come off as charming. Or, perhaps, an individual is very friendly and easy to get along with, but they might possess certain attributes for intelligence. We have seen that these characteristics differ in genre before, in Preston's linguistic attitudes study, where the South had average low scores in certain categories pertaining social status (rating them generally abnormal, dumb, having a twang, with bad English, uneducated, slow and a drawl) but they had significantly higher scores than the North in categories of casual, friendly, and down to earth (Preston 2008:57). By using the indicated characteristics, we will hopefully have a full span of the overall impression of the subjects through the surveyors' perspectives.

Chapter Six: Data

After recording results from the surveys, each category for each recording was given "points" for its popularity in its corresponding areas. The points were calculated based on strength of opinion. If the respondent marked that they "strongly disagree" for a speaker having a certain attribute, then the recording received 1 point in that category for that particular survey. If the respondent selected that they "disagree", the recording's category would receive a 2. If they marked "agree", then 3 points, and if they marked "strongly agree", then the category was awarded 4 points for its speaker's section.

If the respondent circled the space in the middle between the "disagree" and "agree", or left one question blank, the points were counted as 2.5 (which occurred a total of 16 times.)

	American Teacher of French	American Student of French	French woman	English	Italian Accent	Exaggerated American
Intelligent	71	66	69.5	72.5	53.5	55
Attractive	50.5	48.5	60	71.5	44	61
Friendly	62	61	67	67	49	55
Trustworthy	69.5	61.5	62.5	71	47.5	57
Charming	60.5	49	57.5	64	44.5	64

Table 3

The total points for each accent and corresponding categories are displayed in Table 3 (with the underlined points being the "winner" for the corresponding category).

For Intelligence (see Table 4), English had the highest score, differing by 1.5 points from the American French teacher in second place with a score of 71. The scores for the French woman, American French student, and exaggerated American accent were 71, 69.5, 66, and 55, respectively. The Italian accent had a total score in last place of 53.5.

Most Intelligent:	
English	**72.5**
American Teacher of French	71
French woman	69.5
American Student of French	66
Exaggerated American Accent	55
Italian accent	53.5

Table 4

For Trustworthiness (see Table 5), English scored the highest with 71 points. Following English, American French Teacher, the French woman, the American French student, and the Exaggerated American accent had scores of 69.5, 62.5, 61.5, and 57, respectively. The Italian accent came in last place with a score of 47.5.

Most Trustworthy:	
English	**71**
American French Teacher	69.5
French woman	62.5
American French Student	61.5
Exaggerated American Accent	57
Italian accent	47.5

Table 5

For the Friendliness category (see Table 6), English and French Woman recordings were rated the highest, with a score of 67 for both. Following these scores were the American French teacher, American French student, and Exaggerated American Accent, with scores of 62, 61, and 55, respectively. In last place was the Italian accent with a score of 49.

Friendliest:	
English	**67**
French woman	**67**
American French Teacher	62
American French Student	61
Exaggerated American Accent	55
Italian accent	49

Table 6

For results regarding Charm (see Table 7), the English and the Exaggerated American accent had the highest scores of 64, followed by the American French teacher, the French woman, and the American French Student, with scores of 60.5, 57.5, and 49, respectively. In last place was the Italian accent, with a score of 44.5.

Most Charming:	
English	**64**
Exaggerated American Accent	**64**
American French Teacher	60.5
French Woman	57.5
American French Student	49
Italian accent	44.5

Table 7

For the Attractive category (see Table 8), English was in first place with 71.5 points, followed by the Exaggerated American accent, French woman, American French teacher, and American French student with 61, 60, 50.5, and 48.5 points respectively.

Most Attractive:	
English	**71.5**
Exaggerated American Accent	61
French woman	60
American French Teacher	50.5
American French Student	48.5
Italian accent	44

Table 8

Overall, respondents gave each sample in the “Intelligent” and “Trustworthy” categories more points on average. The “Intelligent” category had an average of 64.6 points per sample, and the “Trustworthy” category had an average of 61.5 points per sample. The other three categories had averages of 60 points or below. This suggests that the average “scores” the respondents marked for each sample in the “intelligent“ category and the “trustworthy” category was 2.8, and 2.7 respectively, a high favor. In comparison, the “Charming” category had a lower average of 2.49 points awarded each time.

Displayed are the graphs per category, designed to show you the general trends of each category related to each speaker. “Intelligent” and “Trustworthy” are aligned with the “Charming” graph to demonstrate the difference in graph heights:

Chapter Seven: Data Analysis

Regarding total score and the individual category trends, it appears that the English sample without exception is regarded as speech with higher integrity, attractiveness, and competence. After the English sample, the native French speaker received high marks, with averages ranging from 2.5 to 3 points for each category. The American French teacher is not far behind the French speaker, with only three points' difference in the overall total score. I would suggest that these two samples receive such high marks because they are most similar to the Standard French pronunciation (with the French woman having only three differences and the French teacher having only six). The total score trends generally follow the same trends that were observed in the Intelligence, Trustworthiness, and Friendliness categories, with the exception of the Exaggerated American accent moving up from fifth place to fourth place, namely because of its high first place and second place scores in Charm and Attractiveness, respectively (see Table 9).

Total Score	
English	**346**
French woman	316.5
American French teacher	313.5
Exaggerated American accent	292
American French Student	286
Italian accent	238.5

Table 9

As we take into account the phonetic differences from the standard, we see a few differences compared to the "most accurate" order of speeches recorded: first of all, English trumps all in the total score, with an incalculable number of differences between it and the French speech. The Italian accent is in last place, but according to the amount of phonetic differences, should be fourth if the phonetic similarity to standard French reflected overall positive impressions. This suggests that phonetic differences are not the only factors in perception of the speaker, but the particular pattern of the Italian prosody (characteristic to the accent) and 1L to 2L phonetic transfers marked the accent as the global Italian accent (see page 21 and 23), attributing more than just "This person does not sound like me" negative impressions. This result corresponds with Munro and Derwing (1999)'s research on the foreign accent, where they write that prosodic errors appear to be "a more potent force" than phonetic errors (285). We will further investigate potential reasons later on. The third difference between the order of phonetic similarity and the "Total Score" chart (Chart 6) has to do with the American French student's placement. He should be placed before the Exaggerated American accent, but it almost seems that such extreme phonetic transfers in the Exaggerated accent account for its "Charming" and "Attractive" scores, bumping it up above the French student.

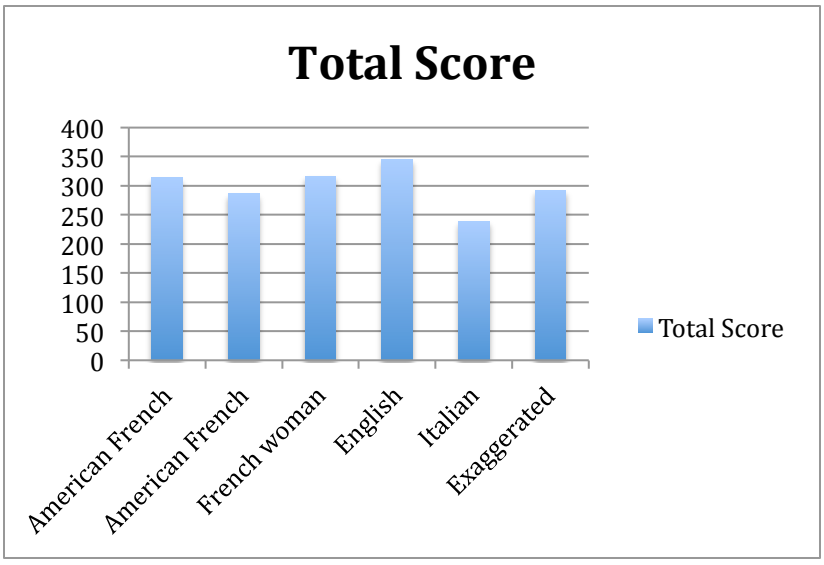


Chart 6

The data will be analyzed based on each individual recording (person by person, rather than by characteristic):

English:

For the Total Score of points for all categories and samples, the English sample was first in rankings with thirty more points than the second-favored sample- the French woman. The English sample had the most points in each category, but was sometimes "tied" with the French woman sample in the category "friendly" and with the Exaggerated American sample in the category "charming". Additionally, the English sample is rated 10.5 points higher in the "attractive" category than its second place, the largest value of difference between a first and second place in any category.

American French teacher v. French Woman

As one can observe in the graphs, the French woman and the American French teacher were not very far apart from each other in total amount of points. The American French teacher and the French woman followed a trend of being next to each other in rank. However, the French woman sample's attractive points were 9.5 points higher than the American French teacher sample, suggesting a vast movement of opinion to express that the French woman sample sounds noticeably more attractive than the American French teacher sample. Interestingly enough, the American French teacher was viewed as more intelligent than the French woman. It happened to be the case for three out of the five categories (Intelligence, Trustworthiness, Friendliness) that the French woman and the American French teacher compete for second and third place, behind English.

Considering that English seemed to trump almost every category, it is remarkable to note that there is a "tie" between English and the French woman samples for the

"friendliest". The next "friendly" sample is the American French teacher, with five points behind, a significant value compared to most of the data found. The French woman was found particularly friendly compared to the rest of the samples.

American student:

The American student of French was always ranked in the low-middle range, which aligns with the assumption that the more of an American accent the French speaker has (last in phonetic differences only to the Exaggerated American Accent), the lower levels of integrity and competence ratings he or she will receive. It would be expected that the American student's points would increase in categories of attractiveness (since the Exaggerated American Accent, higher in phonetic differences, increased with Attractiveness markings; there was a hypothesized relation between most deviations and attractiveness scores). However, they do not. There may be a principle of mediocrity in the accent level that causes the voice to be regarded as "nothing special" for each of the categories. The American accent is apparent (with 12 differences from standard French), but not extreme enough to be charming (which apparently requires 16). Therefore, it makes sense that out of the three American accents, this sample would be the most unwelcome.

Exaggerated American Accent:

The exaggerated American accent is in fourth place in the total score because of its dramatic change in trend for Charming and Attractiveness categories. The average score per category for the exaggerated American accent does not vary much—its highest average (charming category) as 2.8, and its lowest average (intelligence) as 2.3. However, the relative scores of the other samples change enough to allow the

exaggerated American accent to fall in the higher rankings. Therefore, it is not so much that the exaggerated American accent skyrocketed in points for the Charming and Attractiveness categories, but all of the other samples' scores fell down in points. Perhaps the French people view the exaggerated American accent not so much as exceptionally charming, but maybe they view the other non-accented French speakers as exceptionally uncharming.

The Attractive and Charming categories gave different results than the other three, with the Exaggerated American Accent bumping up from fifth place to first and second place:

Most Charming:	
English	**64**
Exaggerated American Accent	**64**
American French Teacher	60.5
French Woman	57.5
American French Student	49
Italian accent	44.5

Table 10

This same pattern occurred in Preston's linguistic attitude studies, where Standard/ "admired accent" speakers were most often judged highest on the competence dimension while nonstandard (or regionally/ ethically distinct speakers) were rated higher for the integrity and attractiveness dimensions (Preston 2008: 42).

Italian:

For the total score points, the Italian accent was in last place, differing in 47.5 points from the fifth place American French student. The Italian sample has faithfully proved to be held in low regard by the French respondents no matter the category. Investigation on this low opinion of Italian accented French speakers will be covered in the discussion of results.

In conclusion, for competence and integrity categories, not including the English sample, the less of an accent the speaker has while speaking French, the more favored he or she is in overall rating. However, in attractiveness categories, the extreme variation of the American accent is regarded in the highest favor, maybe for reasons of exoticness and unfamiliarity, or charm from ignorance of accurate pronunciation. The extreme American accent suffers, however, in categories of integrity and competence, perhaps because the extreme accent reveals to the respondent a sense of stupidity, or untrustworthiness because of ignorance. Because this is the only sample where an accent was forced, it is possible that the respondents picked up on the false nature of the accent and instinctively gave it low scores for trustworthiness. It happened to be the case for three out of the five categories (Intelligence, Trustworthiness, Friendliness) that the French woman and the American French teacher compete for second and third place. In these three categories, the fourth place in points is always the American French student, then the Exaggerated American Accent, and the Italian accent in last place.

Discussion

There are a number of things to point out that the number and tables do not reflect, that may raise some questions that the numbers would not raise themselves:

Field notes

During the distribution of the survey, a few of the respondents had short discussions of each of the recordings. For instance, I noticed that more than one person acknowledged that Recording 1 (the American French teacher) sounded like a mother-like figure. The same few people noted that Recording 2 (the French woman) sounded like a grandmother. With these interpretations of the recording samples, I think much can be investigated behind the impressions of different speeches. The native French woman who sounds like a grandmother might have reminded the respondents of tradition or antiquity, since the woman spoke in their native tongue. The American French teacher may not have much of an accent, but says every word in a well-articulated manner (and as we have seen from the phonetic transcription, she practices learned prosodic patterns and phoneme formation from education experience). A non-native educated speaker such as she might have the habit of doing of carrying an instructive, motherly voice as a product of institutionalized learning.

After analyzing the survey data, I found some unique markings for certain particular scores by respondents that caused averages to change. (For instance, a respondent may have randomly chosen that the American French teacher had a 1 in the "Charming" category but a 4 in all of the others.) I analyzed each marking and looked for patterns to help give an explanation for their unique choices in selection of recording impressions. Most patterns could not be detected. However, Respondent Number 7, a male, marked the English accent's attractiveness level as a 1. After further study, I noticed that this particular man marked every sample voice's attractiveness level as a 1.

This data was not discounted, but it is important to point out the variation of people's perception of each of these categories. This man happened to be an older man, and he may have decided that none of the younger voices were attractive for someone his age.

There might have been a change in opinion depending on gender. One young man taking the survey was taking it with a female friend, and the young man marked a score of 4 for the Italian attractive level. The female friend noticed and commented that it was bizarre for him to mark so high for such an accent. He shrugged his shoulders and said, "Well, she's Italian."

Such a comment reveals that there was some level of processing that took place, linking the accent not directly to the impression on the paper, but to the stereotype in one's mind, and then having it translated as a mark onto a piece of paper. Agreeing with this assumption, Milroy and McClenaghan note (as previously mentioned),

> It has been widely assumed that an accent acts as a cue identifying a speaker's group membership. Perhaps this identification takes place below the level of conscious awareness… Presumably by hearing similar accents very frequently [one] has learnt to associate them with their reference groups. In other words, accents with which people are familiar may *directly* evoke stereotyped responses without the listener first consciously assigning the speaker to a particular reference group (Milroy and McClenaghan 1977:8-9, italics original).

Because the respondent was obviously able to identify the nationality of the Italian speaker and the voice's origins are not hidden or unknown, that further pushes the question of why the Italian accent had such low ratings compared to the three American accents. Responses to the Italian recording in my study were curiously overall negative. There are many potential reasons for Italian coming in last place for all categories. Italian is second in major sources of French borrowings, with over 1000 borrowed words since 1990 (Flaitz 1988:61), (English has over 2000). This puts Italian in an influential position

in the French language, and therefore must already have some ideology attached (like English). Another potential reason may be the speed of the Italian speaking French in the recording. While most recordings last eight to ten seconds, the Italian's lasts only six seconds. Flaitz's study has revealed that "slowness, if not excessive, is thought to be a more positive attribute than is rapidity" (Flaitz 1988:174).

Because English is the only language spoken on the recordings besides French, French perceptions of English have not been adequately compared to perceptions of other foreign languages to observe a difference in attitude toward foreign languages in general. However, this particular research was performed not to compare foreign language attitudes of the French people. Instead, this research serves to show that *there is not a direct correlation between a people group and the French linguistic attitude toward the people group*. If this were the case, English would have similar ratings as the American accented recordings. Alternatively, we see a change in accent levels and attitudes, and as a control, English is provided to prove that the attitude is not necessarily based on the presence of a native-English speaking voice, but rather the accent. A perfectly fluent native English excerpt gives a different impression than a "mispronounced" exaggerated American phonetically- affected interpretation on a French phrase. Such a strong accent can give an impression of ignorance or lack of "relatability". These two qualities not only drive the ratings of the exaggerated American accent downward in areas of intelligence or integrity, but the same two qualities drive up the scores of the recording in areas of charm and attractiveness.

There may be a source of offensiveness taken by such an extreme accent. This accent may suggest a lack of concern to relate to the native speaker or a lack of

awareness of such a strong accent, suggesting stupidity. These interpretations can lead the respondents to marking low scores for competence and integrity categories. In contrast, the English speaker who speaks fluent English may be an object of curiosity and exoticness, which partly gives the voice such high scores. Of all the categories surveyed, English had the highest marks in intelligence (a score of 72.5) and attractiveness (a score of 71.5). The attractiveness levels can be explained by exoticness in the speaker's language. In regards to the intelligence levels, this brings up many questions on what makes the English sample "sound smart"?

Cultural Attachments

Flaitz 1998's research has revealed a great deal about the cultural perceptions attached to speaking the English language. When respondents were asked directly if they thought there were cultural reasons for speaking English or associated with English, respondents almost always said no:

> These responses indicate that 95.4% strongly rejected the notion that they would study English in order to become more like Americans. Their reasons appeared to be more instrumental than integrative with 95.4% suggesting that they study English because of its proactive appeal or as a lingua franca (Flaitz 1988:174).

But the qualitative study showed that "when respondents were asked why they chose English as a second language, they started talking about American culture without being prompted to do so"(Flaitz 1988:145). When asked strictly about English, "respondents voluntarily expressing their views on English-speaking people, their cultures, and ideologies" (Flaitz 1988:176). Flaitz concludes:

> One of the more interesting findings, in fact, with regard to Ss' motivation and attitudinal orientation was the observation that respondents could exhibit a non-emotional, instrumental orientation toward the study of the language while

> simultaneously exhibiting feelings about Anglo-Saxon culture which were clearly marked by affect, either positive or negative. (Flaitz 1988:149)

Thus, there seems to be a definite correlation between culture ideologies and the language, whether or not the individual is conscious of it. Flaitz's conclusion is that there is indeed ideology linked to the English language among French people.

Past Studies

A study cited in Flaitz's *Ideology of English* gave a scaled questionnaire of the attitudes of French-speaking Swiss toward English, French, Spanish, Swiss German, Italian, and standard German. Under aesthetic parameters, English was rated highly. English eclipsed every language included in the study in the parameter "chouette" (meaning "neat" or "cool") (Flaitz 1988:48), and it also rated highly in "musical" and "beautiful" parameters. English was considered to be the "least unpleasant" of the six languages included in the study (Flaitz 1988:48). These trends of Francophone responses towards English speech correlate with results in my own study. Not only did I use similar methods to score perceptions of speech with a scaled questionnaire, but also between the French and English speech, English was rated the highest in aethestics. The fact that English speech was most highly rated among Swiss and French francophones suggest that there may be a more general francophone ideology of English speech among European languages.

Additionally, in Preston (2008)'s surveys of Michigan respondents, he found that respondents ranked more favorably types of speech that were more like their own. The Michigan raters "considered themselves superior to the South for every attribute of the 'Standard' factor group" which is "not very surprising, considering well-known folk and popular cultural attitudes" (Preston 2008). French respondents in my survey followed the

general trend of respondents being predisposed to prefer speech similar to their own. This is the most practical and assumed explanation for why the “more Frenchy” French was rated higher overall.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion—Aptitude and Attitude

Results in my study showed that among the French-speaking recordings, respondents had positive attitudes correlating with the proficiency of the French speaker in the recording. What is the reasoning? My main question is, what if the listeners are picking up on the speakers' intrinsic motivations to learn their language? What if they give higher marks for effort in speaking their language, or for flattery's sake, and view the speaker as someone "our culture can embrace"?

Previously in the literature analysis, when I observed effects of second language acquisition, I stated that one particular form of second language speakers' variation is motivation and its effects. It is a common assumption that motivation for learning a language and linguistic success are mutually reinforcing. Gardner and Lambert's integrative and instrumental motivation (1972) study investigated this subject, "An integratively motivated learner desires to become completely integrated into the L2 society and essentially wants to pass for native, which implies acquiring native-like language proficiency; an instrumentally motivated learner wants to use the L2 in order to achieve very specific goals (getting a job)" (Major 2001:67). Coates 1986 also performed a study on correlation between motivation and pronunciation proficiency. He found a "strong positive correlation between pronunciation proficiency and grade point average and the need for achievement" (Major 2001:68). Therefore, from our literature analysis, we can draw the conclusion that one's motivation for learning a language can affect their

"foreign accent"; which implies that a native speaker could associate a second language speaker's accent with their motivation. We can confirm that linguistic aptitude could reflect the subject's curiosity in the language which would correlate with positive perceptions. As one of Flaitz's studies stated, *"*varying degrees of integrative orientation measured by attitudes toward self, own language group, and target language group, were positively correlated to proficiency" (Flaitz 1988:41).

I have also discussed that phonological differences in second language have developing influences and therefore become smaller over time. This assumption is important when researching foreign accents, their "levels", and the speaker's experience. So when a native speaker is hearing second language speech, he or she could possibly correlate not only their motivation for learning the language, but also their experience with the language. At some level, the listener is attuned to these variations. If the listener picks up on an accent and gathers, consciously or unconsciously, that the person is motivated and/or interested in learning their language, and has invested time in this language, it is logical to understand why a listener would associate positive personality characteristics with the speaker.

The speaker's proficiency may cause the respondent to respond positively in return to higher linguistic aptitudes. Such an assumption may explain the positive correlations among higher aptitudes for French in the survey. The only exception to the trend is with the Exaggerated American Accent, which in some topics is rated highest. This may suggest that it is the speaker's first time to try French, but she speaks for supposed reasons of curiosity and enthusiasm, which can also render positive responses in return. For instance, in the American English speaking world, when someone of

another first language talks to us in English and they are fluent without a strong accent, we may react more positively to them as opposed to someone with a strong foreign accent. Our linguistic identity is flattered by the fact that this individual has been interested in English and has taken the time to learn it. We may have the impression that they can relate better to us, whether or not it is actually true. We also find someone with very poor but enthusiastic English charming, as we recognize their curiosity and appreciate their efforts to try to communicate nonetheless with obstacles. Furthermore, if listeners are indeed able to pick up on motivation from the speaker, it makes sense that they did not deem the forced and artificial Exaggerated American Accent as coming from a "trustworthy" or "friendly" speaker. There is no reason to trust someone who has false motivations.

All in all, there is no proof of whether this is the reasoning for the personality markings. The next phase of my study would be to follow up with questions about perceptions about each speaker's motivation for learning French. If the responses based on perceived effort corresponded with the speakers' personality ratings, then it would help prove this reasoning.

To conclude, this research study has suggested that there is a difference between French ideology of American English and French ideology toward American second-language speakers of French. The more experienced the French learner seems to be, with correlation to his or her phonetic similarity to native French, the more positive response he or she will gain from the listener in general. It is suggested that the reasoning for this trend is related to perceived motivation, linguistic aptitude, and experience of the speaker

in French. Generally, the stronger the accent is, the more negative reception he or she will gain.

However, association with a linguistic identity can override this negative effect of the accent. We have seen this occur with the Italian speaker, who had less phonetic differences than the American French student, but is rated overall more negatively in personality impressions. In this case, it seems that national identity is more influential on the listener's perception than linguistic aptitude. However, the Italian speech also differed the most in prosody, perhaps making it the "strongest" accent according to Munro and Derwing (1999). If I created an implicational scale to rank which factors influence perception more, I would put national identity and linguistic aptitude as both the most influential, and perceived effort as second. Perceptions seem to be "layered", with a combination of these qualities affecting their outcome. This scale is only applicable to perceptions of second language speakers, since we have already observed that national identity can be the same and perceptions different with first or second language (English was rated highly, while not all American second language French was). Because Italian national identity overrode its similarities to standard French, national identity must contribute as an influential factor from my study for attitude. However, national identity and prosodic differences could be working together to form the listeners' perceptions of the Italian speech. Since in most cases linguistic aptitude (i.e. similarity to standard French) correlated with positive perception, this quality in speech is also highly influential. Perceived effort overrode linguistic aptitude in only in one extreme case. Since the exaggerated American accent was rated highly in "Charm" and

"Attractiveness", perceived effort increased the personality ratings of the most unfavorable underdog in the linguistic aptitude category.

Future Directions

If I were to revise my research, I would take more consistent note of gender, age, and region of France where the participants grew up. I would survey more respondents to gather a larger variety of answers. As previously stated, I would follow up with questions regarding each speaker's perceived motivations to see if I could get at the "folk theory" behind the rankings they make. It would be interesting to investigate the three different "layers" of perception: national identity, linguistic aptitude, and perceived effort, and determine which is more influential than another. This would require a varied amount of speakers, with different national identities and levels of experience with French.

APPENDIX A

Survey Data::11 Males/12 Females

American French Teacher	1	2	2.5	3	4	Total Score
intelligent	0	2	2	14	5	
attractive	6	9	1	4	3	
friendly	3	6	0	9	5	
trustworthy	0	4	1	13	5	
charming	5	3	1	9	5	
Scores	14	48	12.5	147	92	313.5
American French student						
intelligent	0	8	0	10	5	
attractive	7	9	1	3	3	
friendly	3	7	0	8	5	
trustworthy	4	4	1	9	5	
charming	10	5	0	3	5	
Scores	24	66	5	99	92	286
French woman						
intelligent	1	2	1	14	5	
attractive	3	5	0	13	2	
friendly	0	7	0	11	5	
trustworthy	1	7	1	11	3	
charming	1	9	3	9	1	
Scores	6	60	12.5	174	64	316.5
English						
intelligent	0	2	1	14	6	
attractive	1	1	1	14	6	
friendly	1	2	0	18	2	
trustworthy	0	3	0	15	5	
charming	0	4	0	12	5	
Scores	2	24	5	219	96	346
Italian woman						
intelligent	4	9	1	7	2	
attractive	9	8	0	5	1	
friendly	7	7	0	8	1	
trustworthy	6	9	1	7	0	
charming	8	9	1	4	1	
Scores	34	84	7.5	93	20	238.5
Extreme American accent						
intelligent	4	10	0	5	4	
attractive	1	10	0	8	4	
friendly	2	6	0	11	2	
trustworthy	3	9	2	5	4	
charming	3	6	0	7	7	
Scores	13	82	5	108	84	292

APPENDIX B
SURVEY SAMPLES

Ecoutez à chaque enregistrement et répondez aux questions suivantes.

Enregistrement 1

Cette personne a l'air...

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
1. intelligente	1	2	3	4
2. attirante	1	2	3	4
3. amicale	1	2	3	4
4. fiable	1	2	3	4
5. charmante	1	2	3	4

Enregistrement 2

Cette personne a l'air...

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
1. intelligente	1	2	3	4
2. attirante	1	2	3	4
3. amicale	1	2	3	4
4. fiable	1	2	3	4
5. charmante	1	2	3	4

Enregistrement 3

Cette personne a l'air...

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
1. intelligente	1	2	3	4
2. attirante	1	2	3	4
3. amicale	1	2	3	4
4. fiable	1	2	3	4
5. charmante	1	2	3	4

Enregistrement 4

Cette personne a l'air…

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
1. intelligente	1	2	3	4
2. attirante	1	2	3	4
3. amicale	1	2	3	4
4. fiable	1	2	3	4
5. charmante	1	2	3	4

Enregistrement 5

Cette personne a l'air…

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
1. intelligente	1	2	3	4
2. attirante	1	2	3	4
3. amicale	1	2	3	4
4. fiable	1	2	3	4
5. charmante	1	2	3	4

Enregistrement 6

Cette personne a l'air…

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
1. intelligente	1	2	3	4
2. attirante	1	2	3	4
3. amicale	1	2	3	4
4. fiable	1	2	3	4
5. charmante	1	2	3	4

Translated, the survey reads :

Listen to each recording and respond to the following questions.

Recording 1

This person seems...

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. intelligent	1	2	3	4
2. attractive	1	2	3	4
3. friendly	1	2	3	4
4. trustworthy	1	2	3	4
5. charming	1	2	3	4

Recording 2

This person seems...

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. intelligent	1	2	3	4
2. attractive	1	2	3	4
3. friendly	1	2	3	4
4. trustworthy	1	2	3	4
5. charming	1	2	3	4

Recording 3

This person seems...

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. intelligent	1	2	3	4
2. attractive	1	2	3	4
3. friendly	1	2	3	4
4. trustworthy	1	2	3	4
5. charming	1	2	3	4

Recording 4

This person seems...

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. intelligent	1	2	3	4
2. attractive	1	2	3	4
3. friendly	1	2	3	4
4. trustworthy	1	2	3	4
5. charming	1	2	3	4

Recording 5

This person seems...

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. intelligent	1	2	3	4
2. attractive	1	2	3	4
3. friendly	1	2	3	4
4. trustworthy	1	2	3	4
5. charming	1	2	3	4

Recording 6

This person seems...

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. intelligent	1	2	3	4
2. attractive	1	2	3	4
3. friendly	1	2	3	4
4. trustworthy	1	2	3	4
5. charming	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX C

Phonetic Differences in Speech from Standard French notes

Each difference in phoneme , vowel length, syllabification, or pauses counted as a "difference from the standard". If a speaker lacked pauses, I counted that as one total difference.

"Standard French"
lə.pRə.mje.pa#mɔ̃.fis#kə.lɔ̃.fɛ.dɑ̃.lə.mɔ̃:d#e.sə.lɥi.dɔ̃.de.pɑ̃.lə.Rɛs.tə.də.no.ʒu:R

1. American teacher of French
lə.pRə.mji.e.pa#mɔ̃.fis.kə.lɑ̃.fe.dɑ̃.lə.mɔ̃n.e.sə.lɥi.dɔ̃.de.pɑ̃.lə.Rɛs.də.no.ʒu
    1. Extra syllabification/ vowel
    2. Lack of pause
    3. Different nasal vowel
    4. [n] instead of [d]
    5. lack of pause
    6. lacked vowel/ syllabification in "reste"
    7. No long [u:] or [R]

2.French woman
lə.pRə.mje.pa.mɔ̃.fis.kə.lɔ̃.fɛ.dɑ̃.lə.mɔ̃d.ɛ.sə.lɥi.dɔ̃.de.pɑ̃.lə.Rɛs.tə.də.no.ʒuR
    1. Lack of 3 pauses
    2. [ɛ] instead of [e]
    3. [u] instead of [u:]

3. American student of French
lə.pə.mji.e.pa:mɔ̃.fis#kə.lɑ̃.feɪ::dɑ̃.le.mɔ̃:eɪ.se.lɥi.dɑ̃.de.pɑ̃.lə.Rɛst.də.now.ʒu:
    1. [R] missing
    2. Extra syllabification/ vowel
    3. [a:] instead of pause
    4. Different nasal vowel
    5. Long iphthong instead of [e]
    6. No [d]
    7. No pause
    8. Diphthong instead of [ɛ]
    9. Different nasal vowel
    10. Different syllabification
    11. Semivowel after [no]
    12. No [R] after [ʒu]

4. English
ðə.fərst.stɛp.maj.sʌn#wɪtʃ.wʌn.m eᴵks.ɪn.ðə.wɪrld#ɪz.ðə.wən.ɑn.wɪtʃ.də.
pɛndz.ðə.rɛst.əv.a.wər.deᴵz

(no similarities besides pauses)

5. Italian

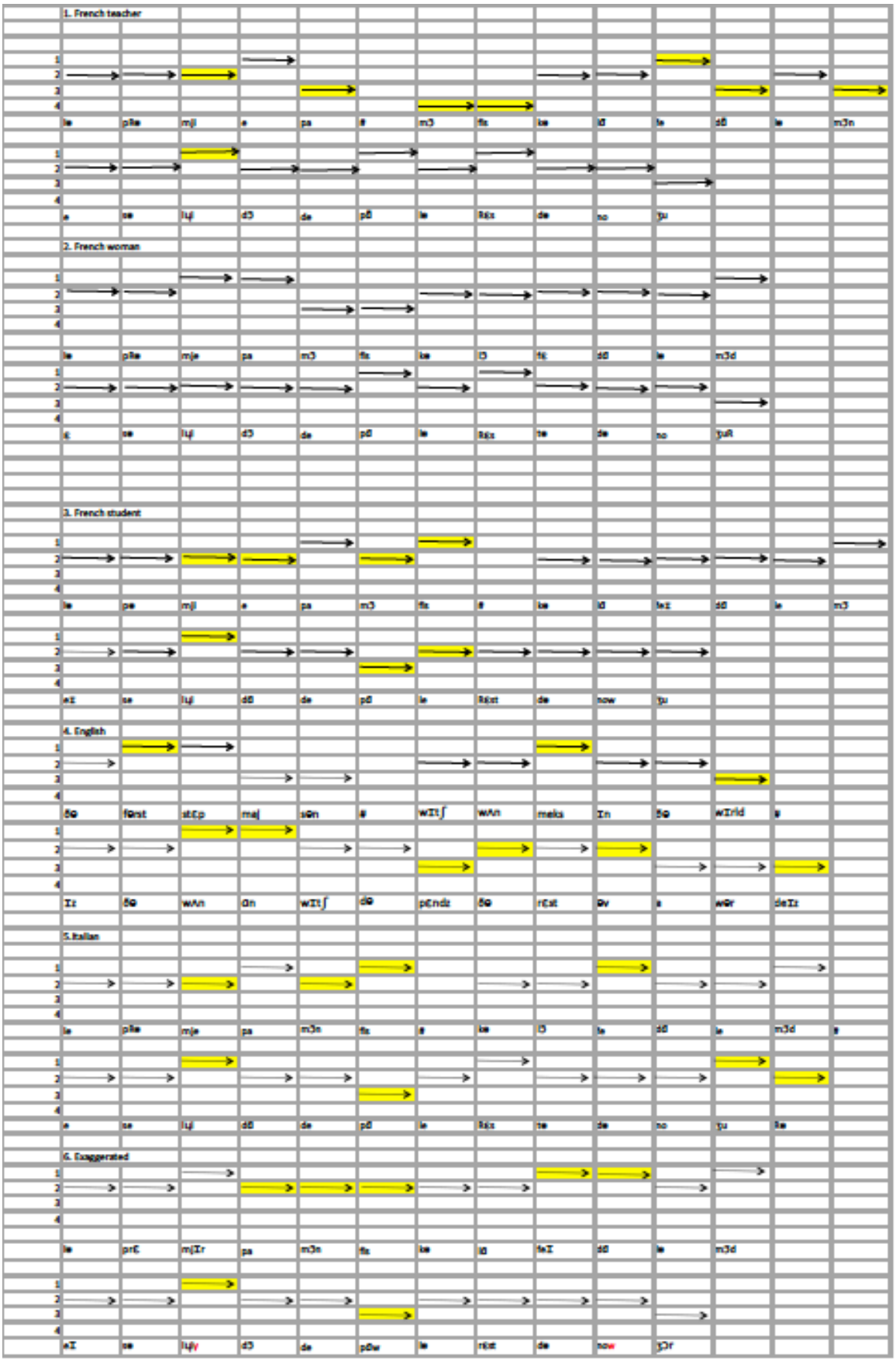
lə.pRə.mje.pa.mɔ̃n.fis#kə.lɔ̃.fe.dɑ̃.le.mɔ̃d#e.se.lɥi.dɑ̃.de.pɑ̃.le.Rɛs.tə.də.no.ʒu.Rə

1. no pause
2. [n] after [mɔ̃]
3. [e] instead of [ɛ]
4. no long vowel
5. different nasal vowel
6. [e] instead of [ɛ]
7. Extra syllabification
8. [u] instead of [u:]

6. Exaggerated American

lə.prɛ.mjɪr.pa.mɔ̃n.fis.kə.lɑ̃.feɪ.dɑ̃.lə.mɔ̃d.eɪ.sə.lɥiʸ.dɔ̃.de.pɑ̃ʷ.lə.rɛst.də.noʷ.ʒɔr

1. [r] instead of [R]
2. [ɛ] instead of [ə]
3. [ɪr] instead of [e]
4. Pronunciation of [r] where there is none
5. No pause
6. Pronounced [n]
7. No pause
8. Different nasal vowel
9. Diphthong instead of [ɛ]
10. No long [ɔ̃]
11. No pause
12. Diphthong instead of [e]
13. Presence of Semi-vowel
14. Presence of semi-vowel
15. [R] instead of [r]
16. Lack of syllable
17. Presence of semi-vowel
18. [ɔ] instead of [u:]


1. French teacher
2. French woman
3. French student
4. English
5. Italian
6. Exaggerated

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